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On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy.

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

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hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage.

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

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but was adopted by the *toutai* Leka. This first Ulamoleka (p. 142) was the son of Tongamana, who was the son of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. In spite of this coalescence of the two *toutai* titles in a single word, they continue to be distinct. A nickname applied in commemoration of meritorious service in battle, is Holakeituai, which means "run while there is time." These are words which may be uttered by troops to their commander as the fighting begins, in order to warn him away from danger. The present bearer of this name is John Tupou Holakeituai of Nukualofa. He bears also the nickname of Maumauvali which was bestowed upon him when he was a baby by Lolohea, the granddaughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. The name Holakeituai was first applied to John's father's father's father whose name was Tufui. Holokeituai seems to be in the nature of a title.

The nickname of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui was Mapatongiamanu which means "*mapa* fruit pecked by a bird." The nickname of Taimi was bestowed because of a remark which King George I made in connection with three Vavau chiefs (Tutoe, Fulivai, and Lutui) who had childless wives. The king remarked that it was a waste of time (*maumautaimi*) to keep childless wives, hence the name Taimi was given to the infant who was born about that time.

Every chief has a nickname which is applied to him at small informal kava parties and other informal gatherings. At a very formal kava party his real title would be called. To call a titled person by his pre-appointment name was to court trouble. To address a minor chief in such fashion might incur a thrashing. To so address a major chief would warrant death.

It is a common practice for girls to create nicknames, usually flower names, for the young men who call upon them and whose identity they may wish to veil. There is a long series of such euphonious names, such as Pipitongi which means "the *pipi* fruit cut so as to have a serrate edge," as for the ornamentation of garlands.

Some nicknames have a distinctly modern flavor, for instance, a Malakai Tupou of Pangai, Lifuka Island, bears the nickname of Fehokokalasini (Fehoko-kerosene), no doubt bestowed after some incident.

There are no family names in Tonga. (See p. 16.) Titles are the nearest approach to family names, but only one individual holds a title at a time. Also it is not the custom to give children the personal names of either parent, so that no semblance of family names appears even in the personal names. Children are, however, often named for relatives other than parents and certain names are favored in certain families, as, for example, Fatafehi in the Tui Tonga's family and Tupou in the Tui Kanokupolu's family.

The total number of names in each island group is governed in large

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old mataboole, after having mentioned how the cavern was discovered, viz. by a young chief in the act of diving after a turtle, related an interesting account of the use which this chief made of his accidental discovery. The circumstances are as follow.

In former times there lived a tooi (governor) of Vavaoo, who exercised a very tyrannical deportment towards his people; at length, when it was no longer to be borne, a certain chief meditated a plan of insurrection, and was resolved to free his countrymen from such odious slavery, or to be sacrificed himself in the attempt: being however treacherously deceived by one of his own party, the tyrant became acquainted with his plan, and immediately had him arrested. He was condemned to be taken out to sea and drowned, and all his family and relations were ordered to be massacred, that none of his race might remain. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, young and interesting, had been reserved to be the wife of a chief of considerable rank, and she also would have sunk, the victim of the merciless destroyer, had it not been for the generous exertions of another young chief, who a short time before had discovered the cavern of Hoonga. This discovery he had kept within his breast a profound secret, reserving it as a place of retreat

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696 584 823 173 for himself, in case he should be unsuccessful in a plan of revolt which he also had in view. He had long been enamoured of this beautiful young maiden, but had never dared to make her acquainted with the soft emotions of his heart, knowing that she was betrothed to a chief of higher rank and greater power. But now the dreadful moment arrived when she was about to be cruelly sacrificed to the rancour of a man, to whom he was a most deadly enemy. No time was to be lost; he flew to her abode, communicated in a few short words the decree of the tyrant, declared himself her deliverer if she would trust to his honour, and, with eyes speaking the most tender affections, he waited with breathless expectation for an answer. Soon her consenting hand was clasped in his: the shades of evening favoured their escape; whilst the wood, the covert, or the grove, afforded her concealment, till her lover had brought a small canoe to a lonely part of the beach. In this they speedily embarked, and as he paddled her across the smooth wave, he related his discovery of the cavern destined to be her asylum till an opportunity offered of conveying her to the Fiji islands. She, who had entrusted her personal safety entirely to his care, hesitated not to consent to whatever plan he might think promotive of

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their ultimate escape: her heart being full of gratitude, love and confidence found an easy access. They soon arrived at the rock, he leaped into the water, and she, instructed by him, followed close after: they rose into the cavern, and rested from their fears and their fatigue, partaking of some refreshment which he had brought there for himself, little thinking, at the time, of the happiness that was in store for him. Early in the morning he returned to Vavaoo to avoid suspicion: but did not fail, in the course of the day, to repair again to the place which held all that was dear to him; he brought her mats to lie on, the finest *gnatoo* for a change of dress, the best of food for her support, sandal wood oil, cocoa nuts, and every thing he could think of to render her life as comfortable as possible. He gave her as much of his company as prudence would allow, and at the most appropriate times, lest the prying eye of curiosity should find out his retreat. He pleaded his tale of love with the most impassioned eloquence, half of which would have been sufficient to have won her warmest affections, for she owed her life to his prompt and generous exertions at the risk of his own: and how much was he delighted when he heard the confession from her own lips, that she had long regarded him with a

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favourable eye, but a sense of duty had caused her to smother the growing fondness, till the late sad misfortune of her family, and the circumstances attending her escape, had revived all her latent affections, to bestow them wholly upon a man to whom they were so justly due. How happy were they in this solitary retreat! tyrannic power now no longer reached them: shut out from the world and all its cares and perplexities;—secure from all the eventful changes attending upon greatness, cruelty, and ambition;—themselves were the only powers they served, and they were infinitely delighted with this simple form of government. But although this asylum was their great security in their happiest moments, they could not always enjoy each other's company; it was equally necessary to their safety that he should be often absent from her, and frequently for a length of time together, lest his conduct should be watched. The young chief therefore panted for an opportunity to convey her to happier scenes, where his ardent imagination pictured to him the means of procuring for her every enjoyment and comfort, which her amiable qualifications so well entitled her to: nor was it a great while before, an opportunity offering, he devised the means of restoring her with safety to the cheerful light of day. He signi-

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fied to his inferior chiefs and matabooles, that it was his intention to go to the Fiji islands, and he wished them to accompany him with their wives and female attendants, but he desired them on no account to mention to the latter the place of their destination, lest they should inadvertently betray their intention, and the governing chief prevent their departure. A large canoe was soon got ready, and every necessary preparation made for the voyage. As they were on the point of departure, they asked him if he would not take a Tonga wife with him. He replied, no! but he should probably find one by the way: this they thought a joke, but in obedience to his orders they said no more, and, every body being on board, they put to sea. As they approached the shores of Hoonga, he directed them to steer to a certain point, and having come close to a rock, according to his orders, he got up, and desired them to wait there while he went into the sea to fetch his wife; and without staying to be asked any questions, he sprang into the water from that side of the canoe farthest from the rock, swam under the canoe, and proceeded forward into the sanctuary which had so well concealed his greatest and dearest treasure. Every body on board was exceedingly surprised at his strange conduct, and began to think him in-

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sane: and after a little lapse of time, not seeing him come up, they were greatly alarmed for his safety, imagining a shark must have seized him. Whilst they were all in the utmost concern, debating what was best to be done, whether they ought to dive down after him, or wait according to his orders, for that perhaps he had only swum round and was come up in some niche of the rock, intending to surprise them,—their wonder was increased beyond all powers of expression, on seeing him rise to the surface of the water, and come into the canoe with a beautiful female. At first they mistook her for a goddess, and their astonishment was not lessened when they recognised her countenance, and found her to be a person, whom they had no doubt was killed in the general massacre of her family; and this they thought must be her apparition. But how agreeably was their wonder softened down into the most interesting feelings, when the young chief related to them the discovery of the cavern and the whole circumstance of her escape. All the young men on board could not refrain envying him his happiness in the possession of so lovely and interesting a creature. They arrived safe at one of the Fiji islands, and resided with a certain chief during two years: at the end of which time, hearing of the death of the tyrant

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of Vavaoo, the young chief returned with his wife to the last mentioned island, and lived long in peace and happiness.

Such, as to matter of fact, is the substance of the account given by the old mataboole. There was one thing however stated, which might appear in opposition to probability, viz. that the chief's daughter remained in the cavern two or three months, before her lover found an opportunity of taking her to the Fiji islands: if this be true, there must have been some other concealed opening in the cavern to have afforded a fresh supply of air. With a view to ascertain this, Mr. Mariner swam with the torch in his hand up both the avenues before spoken of, but without discovering any opening; he also climbed every accessible place, with as little success. At the time Jeremiah Higgins was in this cavern it was nearly low water. He felt a draught of air coming from the left, and on examining the source of it found a hole which he thinks was more than a foot diameter, from which proceeded a tolerably strong and steady breeze, but not the least glimmer of light. This opening he guesses to have been about four feet above the surface of the water at that time. When Mr. Mariner was there, it must have been nearly high water, and the hole

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probably covered: and even if it were not concealed it would transmit no current of air inwardly unless the tide were going out, which he thinks was not the case. At the time Higgins was there the weather was perfectly calm, not a breath of wind stirring; consequently, the influx of air must have been occasioned by the descent of the surface of water within: on the other hand, when the water rises the air must rush out. This cavern therefore may be said to respire like an animal; the rise and fall of the tide acting as a diaphragm, and the above-mentioned narrow passage as a breathing hole. Jeremiah Higgins also heard the story of the young chief and his mistress, which perfectly accorded in all the material points with what is told above: it appears from his narration as well as from Mr. Mariner's, that the natives give this account of the two lovers as a piece of true history, not a romance. There is a sort of shelf at the farther end of the cavern and high up, which is pointed out as having been used for a bed-place.

Finow and his party having finished their cava, dived out of the cavern, and resumed their proper dress: after which they proceeded across the country, and got into the public roads, to amuse themselves with the sport of shooting rats. These animals are not so large

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If a young girl is betrothed, or set apart to be the wife or concubine of a noble higher in rank than herself, she derives more respect on that account, independent of what is due to her own proper rank.

The women employ themselves (particularly nobles) in making a variety of articles, chiefly ornamental; these employments, however, are considered accomplishments, not professions: some of the higher class of women not only make these employments an amusement, but actually make a sort of trade of it, without prejudice to their rank; which is what the lower class of women could not do, because what *they* make is not their own property, but is done by the order of their superiors; the highest accomplishments cannot add to a woman's rank, though it does somewhat to the estimation in which she may be held, for such things, when well done, are honourable in a woman of rank. These things will be farther spoken of hereafter.

Children acquire their rank by inheritance, as before observed, from the mother's side: if she be not a noble they are not, and *vice versa*. If a man, however high his rank, were to have a child by a woman who is only a tooa, no matter whether they are married or not, (but indeed there is no instance of a noble marrying a tooa,) that child would not be a noble, though it were

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a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband. What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents, at an early age, to some chief, mataboole or mooa: perhaps about one third of the married women have been thus betrothed; the remaining two thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two thirds of the women are married, and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one third of the female population remain married till either themselves or their husbands die: the remaining two thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married; so that about one third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried. This calculation is made with due reference to the women living on the plantations, who are almost all married to the

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hama-tefua, in which they would go to Lapaha on the day of the race. They wove garlands to adorn their canoe, and when the day came Kalikihevae went on board with four young men, and they sailed to Lapaha, where they took on board Ngongo and his two companions, and then went on to the race. In the race Ngongo's canoe sailed round ten times before his opponents had sailed round once. Then they stood off through the reef, and sailed along in Manovanga. Kalikihevae's husband was on board the canoe of the concubine's son, and when he saw the other boat bear away he leapt into the sea, and swam after it. So he swam and swam, till Ngongo told his mother that they must wait for him, or else he would jump into the sea. Then the boat hove to, and the chief was taken on board, and they sailed away to Hihifo, and came to the home of Kefukaitamaki.

Now Ngongo's father was leprous,[1] and they built him a separate house to live in. His food used to be taken to him to this house. Ngongo, too, went to his father, and one day the leper asked him to go and beg Kalikihevae to chew some food for him,[2] telling him that if she refused he was still to urge her to do it, that she herself should do it, and not another. After a time the woman consented, and food she had chewed was brought to the man to eat; and this was done continually. And the man begged his son, also, to go and bring his mother that he might see her, and then again he told the boy to beg her to have his house moved close to hers that he might see her. And since he did not cease to make this request his house was at last moved close to Kalikihevae's; but she had not yet permitted him to see her. Then the man told Ngongo to go and beseech his mother to admit him into her apartment (*leke*). And the lady had compassion on her son, and bade the people go and crack candle-nuts,[3] and chew them for the chief to bathe. Then they went to the sea, and the man bathed, and his beauty returned, and he lived again with his wife.

About this time a summons came from Mua (the capital) for the chief to return, as the king was dead. So they went to Mua, and after the funeral rites he was installed as Tui Tonga. The story seems properly to end at this point, but the Tongan text associates Ngongo with a frequently mentioned incident.

By this time Ngongo had grown into a young man, and the king sent *matapule* to Loau to beg yam seed. Loau replied that the yam had sprouted and there was no seed. It was really Loau's daughter who was referred to. The king replied, "Sprouted, indeed, but 'tis Nua,"[4] and he sent to bring her. So Nua was brought and became the wife of Ngongo.

Vaenuku and Lepuha

Lepuha and Vaenuku were two famous *manaia,* whose profession, in which they were aided by their families in search of profitable connections,

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was to attract eligible young ladies. These amorous dandies, however, seem to have had no real place in Tongan society, and some Tongans regard them as exotics, belonging to Samoa rather than to Tonga. Families exploited the charms of handsome relatives to win as many brides as possible, with attendant material and social advantages. In Samoan, *manaia* is a young chief of marriageable age.

The following popular tale recounts Vaenuku's loss of the Tui Tonga's daughter through the wiles of Lepuha.

Vaenuku, who lived at Valu in Eua, was not highborn, but was very handsome. His whole person was handsome, but especially beautiful was his golden hair, which he was wont to keep confined by a turban, and when the turban was loosed his locks gleamed like a cluster of ripe hala fruit. The name of his home was Holoamanu (Resort of birds, that is, of women, who resorted to his home in the evening, and left for their own residences in the morning).

Now word was sent throughout the Tongan group that the handsome men should come to Tongatabu, that a husband might be chosen for the Tui Tonga's daughter (12, pp. 179-80). So the handsome men came from the various islands; but the men pre-eminent for beauty were an unnamed man from Haano, in Haapai; Lepuha of Vavau; and Vaenuku of Eua. Lepuha belonged to Leimatua in Vavau, and his compound was called Tapana, hence the expression "hila ki Tapana" (glance at Tapana), because the women, as they passed along the road, used to look aside at the home of the handsome gallant.

Preparations were being made for the festivities, the suitors had arrived, excepting Vaenuku, who seems to have arrived on the day after the ceremonies and rejoicings had actually commenced. When the suitors who had first arrived had gathered together, their principal attendants (*mua*, seconds)[1] attempted to gain an audience with the lady, to arrange a meeting with their chiefs before the marriage ceremony. But in this they were unsuccessful. The maiden kept herself completely hidden; her compound, too, was fenced, and none could enter without permission.

Since the seconds could effect nothing, the handsome men themselves hid on the road to the maiden's bathing-pool, to see the bathing (*mata kaukau*), "For that was the custom in those days of the *manaia*."

Vaenuku came on this day from Eua, unattended by any second. He guessed that the maiden's bathing time would be towards the cool of the evening. His kilt was a fine mat of fau fiber (*kie-fau*), and his girdle was the plait called *tuingapapaimatekitau*, named after the fortress Matekitau. He came up inland at Laulea, a beach in the eastern district of Tongatabu, and timed his journey to arrive at Mua, where the Tui Tonga lived, towards the cool of the evening. When he arrived in Mua he waited until the

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769 Pea ha'u leva hano kotofa

Keu 'alu hake 'o tali fononga
'I he Moheofo moe Tu'i Tonga,
Fata fano ko enau ma'imoa.
Pe'i manatu'i hotau koloa
Na'e to 'ia Fuhi-fala-hola,
Koe'uhi keu fakafeaoa
'A Uhi mo Lauaki mo Kioa.
Si'i ha'u Ha'apai 'o taunoa,
Pea ha'u 'a Vava'u 'o mate he 'ofa,
Pea ha'u Niua mo Ha'amoa,
'O fakafehu'i ki hoto hingoa,
He ko si'i tangata kou 'iloa,
Kuo kau he enau talanoa.
Ka malu pea nau hokoa,

Ete hua fasi moe lautoka.
Pe kohai te ne fie fanongoa
'Ae otu mau ta'e 'iloa,
Pe ko ha tangata pe ha me'a noa?

Almost has the wind gone about to the south,
And straightway there comes the appointment
That I go and attend on the journey
Of the Queen and the Tui Tonga,
Borne in litters for their amusing.
Then remember our wealth"
That was given by Fuhifalahola,
That I might be in attendance
With Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa.
Dear coming of Haapai, and dismay,
And Vavau comes, and faints with pity,
And Niua comes, and Samoa,
And they ask of my name,
For I am a man who am known,
I have been the theme of their talk.
In the shades of even they trace my descent,
My singing the tune and the harmony.
Who will desire to harken
To the row of poets unknown,
Whether men or things of nought?

POEMS RELATING TO MARRIAGE

Voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

539 584 Ulamoleka, the chief fisherman of the Tui Kanokupolu, went to Niua Toputapu to espouse a beautiful chiefly maiden of that island. After his long voyage, however, he was mortified by the girl's refusal of his proposals. Friends and relatives of the girl, who did not wish the match, had represented to her that Ulamoleka was too old for her, and that he was not of sufficiently high birth. The poem is his reply to the calumniations of his ill-wishers.

[127] The text is published (30, 1875). A manuscript text is preserved (31). These texts, which differ slightly, have both been used in the translation here presented.

Well may the thunders crash and rains descend,
The earth quake and tremble with double shocks.
Thunders rumble around; I am bandied about in talk,
They sit about in judgment on me,
On this ill-advised voyage of mine.
Slanderous talk and cause of reproach.
Ne'er before have I seen a thing so strange,
Like the whisper in Manuka.[1]
Now first have I known
That the mat is chiefly, forsooth.[2]
Is thy mind foolish?
Is thy good sense hidden?
Am I a canoe to put about again,
To go and be re-made from some land,
That then you may wish to embark,
You girls who have but lately grown?
But is it not the manner of Tonga
That after uncounted moons one is old?
Is that a thing to be cause of remark?
For is there but one man so fated?
Believe rather 'tis our common weakness
That was brought to earth, the frequented—
Be not angered Aloua,[3]

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And Evening Star on high.
There was a diviner of lands
But thou, do thine own will[4]
In thy recompense of Tonga the frequented.
They gather together in Lifuka,
And I stand, and proudly say,
"Come ye, that we go to Niua,
Still sweet is the stream Niutoua,[5]
If there be ill-hap then shall we retreat."
And we went early to the forest and round about Niua,
But migrant the pigeons that fly in pairs.
Straightway I shall seek my course,[6]
And think'st thou that thou shalt know?[7]
For where, forsooth, hast thou known?
Who has told it unto thee?
Natheless, hear, I shall speak my rede.
The canoe that came from Manuka
Was manned by a crew from the gods,[8]
Maui Atalanga, Maui Motua,
Maui Kisikisi the wise.
He brought the woman,
And knew 'twas Whisper-in-Manuka.
He brought the wondrous hook,
And brought it, and drew with it lands;
And so Tonga and Eua were given.
By Loau was its apportioning left,[9]
A chief he, but he lived apportioning,
And on his has the thought been patterned
Of the young men of our land.
Now 'tis said that I'm the old axe[10]
That was left by the ship in Poukula.
But thou yonder, hold a little,
For 'tis a different course I was steering
In seeking the shoal of bonito.
Scarce is the rod put in place,
Bait swallowed, both hooks taken,[11]
And it's the *lafo* piece that's in front,
Count, for I have scored two.
In dart-throwing the country competed
For the crew of the Hifofua,[12]
Let there rather be mutual trust[13]
In our dear relations of old,
Utulaaina and Utulifuka,
Lapaha the land side of the road,[14]
On the lower side Ohomafua,
Pangai and Ahau we shall leave.
As of a double mat was report,[15]
But there is no head.
Well were it for thee to walk[16]
To the place Matamoanauta,
And pluck flowers in Faatalamatatua,
And take and plait garlands in Faletoua
With the youth thou speakest of.
And is thy word that thou shalt know
Poulalahi that has proved unavailing?[17]
'Tis I alone who shall tell of it.
The line of mounds lament for their son[18]
Ill-spoken of in this land.
Thou who hast been in Haapai, but not in Tofua,[19]
Walk about on the crest of the land,
And look on the hundred hills;
That is the cause of my lowliness
Of which question is made.
And in unfriendly wise do they speak,
For I, forsooth, am unskilled.
Ah, but do I not know
The dear little ways of the women?[20]
Some were willing, one would not.
Ah me, what a marvel;
Yea, Vaito is enlightened—[21]
Were she of Tonga she would know.
The distance of land side from sea side,[22]
I have heard, in times long ago
Was reckoned a far separation.
If the seeking bird flew he would fall
In weariness, coming to rest;
In my body have they come together.
Be not angered, O Day-star,[23]
And he whose is the main-sheet,
If in my heart be a thing that is evil."
And the southwest wind knows
My own body alone
Has drunk the water of mingled wisdom,
That I may be fertile of thought.
A strong wind is ever being sought[24]
By Vaea and Toilolo,
And happy are the birds of clear voice,
Our women who sit on the deckhouse
Of Tongafuesia and Akiheuho.
I stood on the weather shore of Hihifo,[25]
And looked to the distant horizon,
To see whether a sailor would change
From his boat to the Fusimomoho.
There was the King of the Guardians,
Co-eval with the King of Haa Pio;
It is said that I am a scion
Of chiefs' houses who still are alive,
Tui Haa Ila and Tui Haa Faleono.
Thy jesting has gone to excess,
Ten thousand thy slanderous words.
Like a rain down-pouring in torrents
Were thy words parting lover and bride.
Great like a foreign vessel
Was thy secret speech of the *puko*."[26]
Come now, do thou rest
At the toa tree in Tokuaokulilo."[27]
As I just smile with myself,
As I just sit by and look

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539 584 At the ways of the sailor man,
And the heart of him who works ships.
I thought, friend, for my part,
And cherished my brooding thought—
I am a mind that still penetrates,[28]
And still am I apt to discern,
In keeping the word of Loau,
Preserved, it is said, in Mananga.
Whoever he be that is wise,
And that hath an attending mind,
Go early to Faleovalu,[29]
Turn about in Halakakala,
Share provisions in Haa Maafu,
Stand by to help in Haa Ngata.
His fame goes about in Tupou,
The king of the men of the ocean.
Send report to Tongatabu,[30]
Yea, to Tonga send the tale of him,
To Matamoana and Halaevalu,[31]
To Halafatai and the shallows;
And the Sacred Reef makes murmurous plaint,
Whilst weeps the Anganangana,[32]
When 'tis heard, friend, that it is I,
And when one in his talk makes mention,
That the quest in Nakau has failed,[33]
The stone is left in Fungaana
Be not angered Alovalu,[34]
Vaea and Luatangata,
If there be that in me which is evil,
And if bad be my explanation;
And let it be told to Pouvalu,[35]
And told the assemblage of chiefs.
For I indeed went on a voyage,[36]
Tutuila was the bourne of my seeing.
For I was bidden to go right to land,
For the boat could sail close to the wind,
That we come with sail spread to Kolongahau,[37]
To the launching-place at the Lala.[38]
A censure is that most foolish,
Foolish is that censure of thine;
I have left the boat and shall swim,[39]
I have left the road and shall wade.[40]
When it is spoken in Longoakau,[41]
Or told in Alakihaafata,
Then is it a boat that reached land,
That is filled with fish in the ocean,
Come to land after catching bonito,
Come to land after breaking off tails.[42]
A sturdy man fitted for sailing,
For a task that is fitting for manhood;
To the anchorage in Haa Loau,[43]
And Tongoleleka still frequented.
There was a seer named Mau,
The King's attendant at sea,
And he told a thing unto me,
Yea, to its telling I hearkened,
That the drifting canoe has reached land.
The canoe, friend, is almost in sight,[44]
Midst the unresting wave that is breaking,
Breaking and imperilling man.
There's a word that is brought from the mound,[45]
If there be a flock of uneven number,
And set for it is the net,
It almost entered, but went aside
At the face of the mound, and escaped,
On Talauluvae has it gone.[46]
I shall return from the house of the snarers,[47]
'Tis a pigeon robust and far ranging;
Leave her, for so is her will,[48]
And to me, too, is there something of doubt,
For 'tis a sport from the forest apportioned.

Lakepamoafitu to Fatafehihaapai

Lakepamoafitu expected to marry Fatafehihaapai, but learned that she had been promised to Vuna. This arrangement, so disappointing to the hopes of Lakepamoafitu, was made while he was absent in Samoa.

539 584 175 649 [551] Fatafehihaapai is described as the Tui Tonga Fefine, and the genealogies show that Pau, the Tui Tonga who met Captain Cook in 1777, had a daughter so named. Fakanaanaa, the 33rd Tui Tonga (Pau was 35th) had a grandson, Lakepamoafitu. If these are the two concerned, therefore, the poem would date from the end of the eighteenth century. The name Vuna occurs as that of several chiefs, including one who is alive today, and the fifth Tui Kanokupolu. This king would be too early to be contemporaneous

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with Lakepamotofitu and Fatafehihaapai; but Mariner (28) mentions a Vuna who was living during the time of his residence in Tonga, who probably is the chief concerned.

539 584 [175] [643] [551]

Matangi e ta'au lulunga,
Matangi lulunga 'ai taulolo;
Ke ne omi e ongo ki loto Mu'a,

Kei eo mai ki heni e ongo.
Ki he hala lalo ki Olo-mafua,
Ki Popua moe fanga Tuku-lolo,
Pe mo'oni e kolo kuo vua,

Pe mo'oni kuo kapa 'ae kolo.
Kuo ha 'i Vava'u e tupu'a,
He tupu'a ne ha he liku loto.

Pea fasi ai e peau kula
Fasi ai e peau pea ngoto.

Ta koe tau-fatunga-motu'a,
Ta koe tau ka 'ikai ongo,
He ongo fo'ou ki Utu-lifuka,
Ongo kovi ne omi ki Ava-tongo.
Kuo mele e kata tuingofua,
Kuo mele'ene eva 'i Matoto.
Kae fefe uo motu'a?
Koe sia ko Kafoa e tofo;
Hikuongo mei Vao-faka-lava,
Kuo hikuongo mei Maninita.
Pe mo'oni kuo vaia Ovaka?

Ta kuo tu'u 'a Mata-hina;
Loto tahi kuo 'alo tafa'anga;

Kuo hiki ki Vava'u 'a Lofia.
Ko 'amautolu eni siufanga,
Ko emautolu eni mahua.
Kuo tu'u tokua e Vao-haka,
Ta kuo tu'u Mata-hina,
Pea angatoka e otu Talava,
Pea 'oku angatoka 'a Futuna;
Hei'ilo Kia mo Mata-uta,
Hei'ilo Tutuila mo Manuka—
'Oka tuha moe liku Fakangala,
'Oka tuheina Paepae-ua.
'Ofa 'i he u'ui 'o Leva-fanga,
Tuamafa 'o loto Popua'uta;
Ne lupe silia mei Foe-ata,
Ne lupe silia 'i Foe-lifuka.
Ne fakamaiva he 'ikai ko ho nafa,
Fakaalele he 'ikai ko ho tuha.
Pe te mo tapiha ha luo ha ana,
Pe te mo tapiha? Kau tukua.

Wind going round to the west[1]
West wind that blows in sharp gusts;
To the midst of Mua let it bring the report,
The report is still wafted hither,
To the lower road in Olomafua,[2]
To Popua and the strand Tukulolo,[3]
Be it true that 'tis a fortress surrendered,[4]
Be it true that the fortress was stormed.
There has appeared in Vavau the marvel,[5]
The marvel that appeared at the inland cliff,[6]
And there the great wave has broken,
The wave has broken and [I am] engulfed.
Verily 'tis the topmost roof-timber,[7]
Verily it is war that is not noised,
In the new report to Utulifuka,[8]
The ill report brought to Avatongo.
The mirth that believes easily is spoiled,[9]
Her walk in Matoto is spoiled.[10]
What then of the early friendship?
The mound Kafoa is unfitting;[11]
An echo from Vaofakalava,[12]
The echo from Maninita.
Is it true that Ovaka appears swimming in ocean?[13]
Verily Matahina is in sight;
In the midst of the sea the canoe is paddled;
Lofia is removed to Vavau.[14]
Ours is this fishing excursion,[15]
Ours is its spilling out.
Vaohaka forsooth is in sight,
Yea, in sight is Matakiniua,
And calm is the group Talava,[16]
And calm is Futuna;
Uncertain are Kia and Matauta,
Uncertain Tutuila and Manuka—
If 'tis fitting the coast of Remembrance,[17]
If 'tis fitting Paepaeua.[18]
Pity for the shell fish[19] of Levafanga,
The pigeon of the landside of Popua;
'Twas a pigeon cast away from Foeata,[20]
'Twas a pigeon cast away in Foelifuka
'Twas unfitting for it was not thy duty,
'Twas rash for it beseemed thee not.[21]
Shall ye rejoice in a hole in a cave,[22]
Shall ye rejoice? But I am left.

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MAMAEAEPOTO TO HIS WIFE

539
593 Koe fakahua ka kuo tamele;
Apianga ka kuo te loto kehe.
Ne mou tuia e fakamoveve
Moe fakamohulau 'ae kehe.
Na'a ma talanga 'i Fekite-tele
Keu nofo 'i Houma-fakalele,
Kae 'alu 'o mata fonua kehe.
Liu mai kuo taka po me'e,
Koe ua 'oe faka-alele.
Ka 'oku kehenga e lupe ki sia,
Na'e ohi mo mounu fakalele.
Siota takanga ne tuku ke nofo,
'Osi foki ne tuku 'i Mata-loko
'O feao moe Vao Longolongo;
Pea ta 'oku 'ikai manofo,
'Oku toka kehe ho'ona loto,
Kau mao aipe liuloto.
Ka hamu 'i vao 'i 'ai ha kolo,

Kau hoko ai au ki Manono,
'O mamata mei vai Afutoto
Pe kohai hake koa ha poto,
Te ne muia e 'otua olo;
He na'a mo Vainuka mo Lolo
Ne 'ikai toka ki ai e loto,
Me'a koe api moe fine Tonga,
'Oku taka moe fakamaitoa.
Ka ne ko ha fine Fisi 'oku 'ofa.
Tala ange ki he ngongo moe lofa
Ka nau ka siu 'i Mata-hina,
Pea ake hake ki Fononga-toa,
'O moia ki ai sioku 'ofa—
Pea kehe koe 'oku haunoa,
Ka 'oku te'eki ngalo ha kuonga.
Mao vale e teu ki Feletoa—
Ta kuo hiki ho la 'o hola,
'O tatali mei 'Aho-kai-moa.
'Alua ke hoho ho loto na;
'Alua ke hako ho 'atamai;
He koe faiva fai fe'ofani,
He koe faiva fai manako,

Na'a fakahoa'i pea pango,
Na'a fakahoa'i pea tamele.

A pleasant thing, but 'tis spoilt;[1]
Agreement, but my heart is changed.
Ye have believed the mere nothings[2]
And exaggerations of others.
Our converse was in Fekitetele[3]
That I should stay in Houmafakalele,
And she should go and see other lands.
Returned, she frequents the night dances,
Which is the like of the turtle-fishing,[4]
Estranged is the pigeon of the mound[5]
That was brought in, a home-keeping pet.
Our dear comradeship was left to abide,
Aye, 'twas left in Mataloko[6]
Hard by the Cluster of Fern;
Ah, but it cannot abide,
Her heart lies elsewhere—
I shall be ever turning foolishly back.[7]
Were she seized in the forest and placed in a village[8]—
I shall go to Manono[9]
And see from the water Afutoto
Who, perchance, is wise,[10]
He shall be o'ercome by the alluring god;
For e'en Vainuka and Lolo,[11]
Not for them did love remain true,
The fruit of love for Tongan women,
Who feel not another's misfortune.
Were it a Fijian woman she would love.
Tell to the gull and the tern[12]
When they seek fish at Matahina,[13]
Return to land at Fononga-toa,
And my love goes out to them—
And yet thou art content,
But there's not a time that is forgotten.
Our poor little plan for Feletoa[14]—
Lo, thou hast raised thy sail and fled,
And wait at Ahokaimoa;
Farewell, let thy heart be content,
Farewell, to follow thy will;
For 'tis a thing of mutual loving,[15]
For 'tis a thing that is done with fondness,
Lest there be mating and displeasure,
Lest there be mating and spoiling.

POEM OF TANGATAILOA TO MULIKIHAAMEA

539
584
[643] The best known Mulikihaamea was Tui Kanokupolu for a few weeks after the murder of Tukuaho in 1799 (37, pp. 158-168). I have put this date at 1800 (12, p. 182). The relatives of this, or another, Mulikihaamea decked a girl with virgin adornments and honors, probably, among other things, by arranging her hair in a special way, either with one lock on the

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crown, or a long lock at either side of her head, stiffened with a dressing of lime. She would also have a train of girl attendants, her *lahi*. She was taken to be the bride of Mulikihaamea, who gave her to Tangatailoa, the composer of this poem in honor of his patron and in praise of love.

Two copies of the text were available, one of which contained only the first two stanzas. Numbering at the side of the third stanza in the copy containing it indicates some uncertainty as to the correct order of the lines. The portion found in only one copy commences at the nineteenth line.

'Ofa 'i he anga e,	How I love her way,
'Ofa 'i he anga kuo makehe,	Love her way that is her's alone,
Tuamafa u'ui kei vale;	Little green pigeon still unlearned;
He ta heua tu'ula ta'ahine,	A maiden's the pigeon we're seeking,
Manoa tu'ona ke hele.	Tug at the cord to entrap her.
Lata kita he lupe 'ata-lele.	My joy is the pigeon who flees as the shadow.
He a e he.	*He a e he.*
Kula pe ha lei pe fetu'u te,	Bead or ivory or floating star,'
Si-lopa pe ha fekite-tele.	Girdle or scented wreath.
He manu e to'a koe fefine,	A venturesome bird is woman,'
Situ'a peau 'i-'ate;	I turned away and was grieved;
Ne 'ikai launoa aipe,	Not for aye is her careless chatter,
'I he me'a tofo pe ne fefe.	No matter what strange thing befall.
Fiu fili 'ae fanga-hahake	The eastern strand is weary of wonder
'I homo tangata pe kuo 'i fe.	About its man, where he may be.
Tala-ange kuo lata he lave,	Tell them my joy is in dalliance,'
He taofi 'e he hala siale,	The road of the *siale* has kept me;
Ke kahoa he tui ve'eve'e,	On my neck the string of sweet blossoms,
Tuitu'u fakava'e siale.	My cincture entwined with *siale*.
Ka fehu'i mai Inu-mo-me'a,	If Inumomea ask about me,'
Tala-ange ko Mulikiha'ame'a	Tell him Mulikihaamea '
Kuo hao hono toulekeleka,	Is still most handsome of men,
Moe angalelei kuo 'uea	And his kindliness has been moved
Ene toki mata-ngalo 'a Vaea.	To be forgetful of Vaea.
Tala ki he Hau ke nau ekea,	Tell the King that they seek me,'
Ke mua-vaka aki ki Lakepa,	Set the course by Lakepa,'
Ma'u-kuo-ma'a mo Tapukitea,	Maukuomaa and Tapukitea,'
Alo-tolu moe Kau-kupenga,	Alotolu and Kaukupenga,
Tapua-tamata mo hingano-leka,	Tapuatamata and *hinganoleka*,'
Unuoi-siale moe tetefa,	*Unnoisiale* and *tetefa*,
Pea omi moe Ao-'o-Uvea	And bring Aoouvea
Ma'ane teunga ki ha po-he'a.	To adorn her for a night of dancing.
'Ofa 'i he anga e.	How I love her way.

POEM OF TEUKAVA

(Also called the Recitation about Tukuaho)

Teukava, a chief of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is mentioned by Mariner (28, vol, 1, p. 279-280), who arrived in Tonga in 1806, and became closely associated with Finau Ulukalala, whom he accompanied and assisted in his wars.[A] These wars had commenced several years before Mariner's arrival.

A [See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst]

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of omen is evidently the fact that Falepapalangi is so ill that he can no longer do as he likes, but has to be very careful.

11. It is not likely now that the events referred to in these lines can be ascertained. Matamoana is a place name, one locality so named being a mound (*sia*) in Hihifo. Papavao may be a name, or may indicate some beaten level place in a wood. Tuihalafatai was the name of a Tui Kanokupolu who died in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Halafatai is the name of the weather coast (*liku*) at Kolovai in Hihifo, Tongatabu. The flats (*toafa*) are the shallows along the northern coast of Hihifo.

12. His title to fame was not as a cultivator of the soil, nor as a planter of kava (the plant valued amongst chiefs, and whose successful cultivation set the seal on a man's skill as a gardener), but that he was known as a man who wandered from place to place, a man of the road, amusing the chiefs with his songs. Maafu and Ahomee and Ata are chiefs; Uhi and Mafi Motuapuaka are *matapule*.

13. The picture is of a man entering a house where Falepapalangi and others are sitting, chiefs being present, the man bowing as he comes in and takes his place. He wishes to give Falepapalangi his leaf-girdles, a sign of his appreciation of the bard, and throws it to him across the front of those sitting between him and Falepapalangi, but his aim falls short.

14. Mapaehingano is the nickname of a chief. The *mapa* and the *hingano* are valued plants.

15. Tonga is standing, secure, but the loss, the grievousness, is his own fate.

16. The "mutual liking" is either of Falepapalangi and his choir, or of the chiefs and Falepapalangi and his choir.

17. Reference is to the songs of Falepapalangi and his singers on a voyage to Vavau, Haafuluhao. When they reach Vavau the wind goes round to the south (*tonga*) that is, word comes from Tonga that he is to return to attend the Tui Tonga and his principal wife. The Tui Tonga used to be carried about in a litter.

18. The wealth is probably the right given him by a great chief, Fuhifalahola, to sing before him. Fuhifalahola (cluster of *nala*) is a nickname for a chief, quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu, or perhaps the Tui Tonga. But since Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa are *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, he is in all likelihood the chief indicated.

Pages 84-86. The voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

1. The expression *tavatava-'i-Manuka* in the original, means "whisper in Manuka." The exact translation of *tavatava* is uncertain, though it is said to mean the name of a woman, wife of Tongafusifonua, who lived in Manua in Samoa. When the Maui arrived in Manua in search of the hook with which to haul up lands, the woman who loved Maui Kisikisi imparted to him the secret of which hook to select. When the Maui made the right choice, Tongafusifonua exclaimed "Who has *'tavatava-'i-Manuka?*" meaning "Who has betrayed the secret?" The expression is proverbial for telling that which should not be told (15, No. 3, p. 278; 17, No. 367; 28, vol. 1, p. 228, where the land-fishing is ascribed, not to Maui, but to Tangaloa).

2. The mat, that is, the virgin or bridal mat presented by the virgin bride to her husband. Ulamoleka says that for the first time, he learns, forsooth, that the mat is a very high chiefly one, that is, that the girl is a very high chieftainess, too high for him to espouse.

3. Ulamoleka, appropriately to a navigator, clears away the tapu on account of his words in the preceding lines, which may sound presumptously to the unseen powers, by propitiating the stars. Aloua is a star name.

4. Ulamoleka commences something about himself, the great navigator, clever at finding lands; but breaks off to tell the girl she can do as she pleases to Tonga, represented of course by himself.

5. Niutoua is a little stream in Niua Toputapu.

6. A navigation metaphor is here used "The poet will seek another charmer."

7. Here there is more than one strand of meaning. When the rejected suitor goes on his new love errand the girl will not know to whom he has gone. Possibly there is the idea that she does not know how high his lineage is; he refers to his lofty descent later. Again the Niua Toputapu girl does not know how great are the ladies who have not despised his love. And he goes on immediately to refer to another aspect of the aspersions against his birth. He is thought a man of no great birth because he works so hard, but the great Lonu did not disdain to work.

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8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.

9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-73) is remembered as the one who divided the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred matters.

10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and inefficient.

11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.

12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplishments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.

13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of great chiefly families.

14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divisions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people immediately connected with them: the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (compare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohomafua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamotonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.

15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka "heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."

16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu, though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other extremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will hear something about the man she has rejected.

17. Poulalahi: evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.

18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he was a descendant of Tuugi Manaia, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern Tongatabu.

19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untravelled, or incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore; he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all sorts of places.

20. One copy reads *Si'i anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *Si'i anga 'oe aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Tongan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*, a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to *'au na luma*, is more likely than that the change was made in the opposite direction.

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21. Vaito is given by Gifford as name of a place in Niua Foou, but apparently there is a locality of the same name in Niua Toputapu also. [539]

22. Ulamoleka is speaking of his rank and says that in him are united the two strains of the Tui Tonga (land-side) and of the Tui Kanokupolu (sea-side); that the greatness of the distance between these two families is represented in the image of the sea-bird, attempting to fly from one to the other, but falling exhausted before the distance was accomplished; yet these two lines are united in him. The daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu was regularly married to the Tui Tonga. [584] [103] [644]

23. Apologies are made to the Tui Tonga, the Day-star, and to the Tui Kanokupolu, whose is the main-sheet, that is the care and guidance of affairs. [643]

24. "If in my heart be a thing that is evil" has been taken as referring to the lines preceding, but it may be taken with the line that follows. "If there is anything amiss in him the southwest wind will know," that is, it will be spread abroad. Or, taking the line with what follows, the southwest wind is probably to be understood as the wind that blows from Tongatabu (though the direction of Tongatabu from Niua Toputapu is nearer south than southwest). If it be the wind from Tongatabu the reference is to Tongatabu itself (which is probably to be understood if the other interpretation of the line is accepted). Tongatabu knows that he, Ulamoleka, has drunk water of mingled wisdom—he is famous not only as a sailor, but as a bard. He has already hinted, moreover, at success in dart-throwing, *lafo*, fishing, and pigeon-snaring. Moreover, his name is a compound of the names Ula and Leka, the two chief sailors and fishermen of the Tui Kanokupolu.

25. Vaea is the name of the chief of Houma, in Tongatabu, and is also the name of one of the Tui Haatakalaua. Toiolo is apparently the name of another chief. Tongafuesia and Akiheuho are evidently the names of two canoes. The picture seems to be that of Ulamoleka commanding canoes, with the strong winds and rushing waters; high-spirited chiefs rejoicing in the freedom and movement of the sea, the gaiety of the scene heightened by the company of women who sit and talk and sing on the top of the deck house. [551] [552]

26. These lines are obscure and there is some textual confusion. The Tui Haa Leo (King of the guardians) and Tui Haa Pio are evidently the heads of chiefly houses, but seem to be now unknown, though the Haa Leo may not be the proper name of a house, but indicate the Tui Haatakalaua or Tui Kanokupolu. The shore of Hihifo is the district of the Tui Kanokupolu; the Fusimomoho is the canoe of Kinikinilau, who belonged to the clan of the Tui Haatakalaua. Ulamoleka says that he looked afar to see if a sailor changed to the canoe of Kinikinilau, apparently indicating that he had made inquiry to ascertain if there had been intermarriage to bring together the lines of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Haatakalaua, with the implication that in few, if in any, had the two lines been so closely united as in himself. He claims for himself also the blood of the Tui Haa Pio. Although the houses of the Tui Haa Ila and the Tui Haa Faleono are said to be still surviving, present day Tongans do not seem to know them. [613]

27. Literal translation is "dark saying of *puko*," evidently a proverbial expression. There was a mystic puko tree in Pulotu, which could supply all wants, food, drink, clothing. There was also a tree connected with the famous sanctuary Fanakava in eastern Tongatabu, to which the suppliant stated his case. A mortal priest presided at the tree to learn the will of the unseen powers regarding the man who sought shelter in the sanctuary. Although the exact reference of this line is lost it evidently means something like baleful, secret speech. [775] [825]

28. The reference to this toa tree is equally obscure. The meaning of *totua-okulilo* is "spoken is hidden." Possibly the idea is that the detractor can stay in the realm of secret and unfriendly speeches, devoting himself to that sort of thing for as long as he likes.

29. Loau gave ordinances and directions about many things. Managa, in Haamea, near the Wesleyan College, Nafualu, was the name of Loau's compound. It is intimated that Loau, quietly at home in Mananga, was aware of events distant in place or time.

30. Many of the places named are mentioned because of their connection with the life of sailors and fishermen. To know Ulamoleka's real greatness is but to go to the places where famous sailormen ply their art. There are also chiefly names in the list, which, perhaps, are local names as well, and come into the category of names of places haunted by sailors. Faleovalu, literally "house of *valu*" (a large fish), is a [103]

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place at sea, a reef, where the *tulu* are plentiful. Probably it is the proper name of a reef or stretch of sea. Halakakala is a fishing ground, a reef, of the Tui Tonga, near Eueiki. Haa Maafu is the Tui Tonga; Haa Ngata, the great house of which the Tui Kanokupolu is head. These may not be literally the names of sea localities, but introduced figuratively, because of the connection he claimed with both these houses. Tupou, the title of the Tui Kanokupolu, is also the name of several localities (21). The one whose fame is spoken of is Ulamoleka himself, named in the next line the king of the men of the ocean.

31. Here is portrayed the grief and indignation in various localities in Tonga when they hear of the affront that Ulamoleka has suffered.

32. Matamoana and Halaevalu are names of two pigeon-snaring mounds in Tongatabu.

33. Anganangana (Whispering hedge) is said to be a locality in Hihifo, Tongatabu. Probably it is a sanctuary, and the meaning is that the power of the temple has not been sufficiently potent for success in the undertaking.

34. Nakau and Fungaana are place names distributed in various parts of the group. Gifford notes a Fungaana in Niua Toputapu. Doubtless there is a Nakau in Niua Toputapu also.

35. Luatangata is a star name, and probably so is Alovalu. Vaea is a chief. Luatangata and Alovalu may be the nicknames of chiefs.

36. Pouvalu is noted by Gifford as the name of a house of the Tui Tonga.

37. A reminiscence of some voyage may be indicated or merely the wide extent of his travels. Probably also a hint is made of his high connections, which extend to Samoa. Tutuila is in eastern Samoa, and the Tui Kanokupolu is connected with the lords of Manua in eastern Samoa. Up until quite recently it was customary for the Tui Kanokupolu to acknowledge the connection by visits to the Tui Manua.

38. A sign of good seamanship is to come to the anchorage with the sail, instead of working in with oars. Kolongahau is a famous harbor of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

39. Lala is the name of a tree. This launching place is not now known. Evidently it was marked by a lala tree, or by a clump of these trees.

40. "I shall no longer base my claim to better treatment on my connection with chiefs; I shall leave that boat of high connection and strike out relying only on my own merits."

41. "Even though the way is not so good, yet I shall strike out on it."

42. Longoakau and Alakihaafata are the names of localities in which is spread the report of the prowess of Ulamoleka.

43. In the bonito fishing if a boat were full of fish, and yet caught more, the tails of the fish which could not be taken to shore were broken off, the mutilated fish were thrown back into the sea and the tails taken as trophies.

44. Haa Loau occurs as a place name in several parts of Tonga. Probably the locality indicated is in Lifuka, Haapai, where is Tongoleleka, mentioned in the next line. A scion of the Tui Tonga house still lives at Tongoleleka.

45. Probably a double strand of meaning is intended: that Ulamoleka's love will be consoled by some other woman, although it has gone through such unquiet waters, and also that his long poem is almost ended, although the bark of poesy has sailed seas of unfriendliness and misrepresentation.

46. The simile of pigeon-snaring is again employed. If there be an uneven number of birds there is great difficulty in netting them, since the odd bird flies hither and thither, seeking a mate and so disturbing all the flock. Hence, the girl Ulamoleka went to marry is a restless pigeon flying about in all directions so that he can not capture her.

47. This line is omitted in the copy printed in Koe Makasini.

48. House of the snarers (*fale feao*) is not the house on the mound where the snaring is actually done, but the house near the mound in which the cooking for the sportsmen was done.

49. "I shall make no further effort to catch this strong, far-ranging pigeon, who does not wish to be caught by me, and perhaps after all I am just as well out of it. One never knows what he has got in pigeon-hunting—and in marriage." The expression *tufa mei vao*, distributed from the bush, means "the catch is not taken home to the village and there gone through and allotted, but the distribution is done on the mound itself, and one does not see very well what he has got, but just takes his luck."

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Pages 86-88. Lakepamoafitu to Fatafehi-Haapai

1. The word *eo* is of uncertain meaning (13, no. 2).
2. The position of Olomafua is not identified.
3. Popua, occurs as name of several localities, one of which is a hill near the beach Tukulolo, near Maofanga in Tongatabu. This part of Tongatabu has close associations both with the family of the Tui Tonga and with that of Finau Ulukalala of Vavau. Doubtless Olomafua is in the vicinity.
4. "Has she freely given herself to the new lover, or has there been pressure put upon her?"
5. This is a version of the old wonder at woman's inconsistency, which, as usual, is most of all marvelous to the rejected suitor.
6. An inland cliff, *liku loto*, an inland configuration that looks like the weather shore of an island, is proverbial for deceptive appearance, and hence there is the sense of the woman's deceit as well as of the marvel of her inconsistency. The marvel is heightened by the appearance of a great wave at the inland cliff, that is, what has happened to the lover is not only like a great wave engulfing him, but a wave that rises in a totally unexpected place. From the allusions to Vavau it would seem that Vuna lived in Vavau and possibly he is commencing his married life there with Fatafehihaapai. This further confirms our identification of the persons concerned, as Mariner (28, vol. 1, pp. 87, 310 et passim) mentions Vuna as connected with Vavau.
7. "The summit of his misfortune," and probably also refers to "The topmost roof-timber" referring to the very high birth of the lady.
8. Utulifuka is near Lapaha, Tongatabu, and Avatongo is an inlet or sea-creek near Popua.
9. The figure of speech *kata tuingofua* (easily persuaded laughter, joy) signifies women, and here especially the woman who is easily won over by fair words.
10. Matoto, in Vavau. The trouble has come about by Fatafehihaapai being in Matoto with the rival.
11. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau.
12. Vaofakalava is a lookout place in Vavau.
13. Ovaka is an island in Vavau. The allusion is to the appearing of islands as a boat approaches. The landmarks of Vavau come up over the girl's horizon, possibly an allusion to his own seemingly prosperous love voyage; the various landmarks were coming up, and he had no cause to suspect that there was not to be a happy coming to land.
14. "Lofia is removed to Vavau," such expressions are used of the unexpected and the apparently and the actually impossible. Lofia is the crater lake of Tofua in Haapai.
15. "Ours," the exclusive pronoun, is used. For Lakepamoafitu and his friends there had been an excursion, promising well, out the canoe had met with disaster and the catch lost. These lines may be misplaced, and the list of names perhaps should be continued without this break.
16. Futuna, Tutuila, Manuka are all found as place names in various parts of Tonga; but probably in these lines the author of the poem is ranging farther afield. Talava is perhaps Tarawa of the Gilbert Islands; Futuna Island, Kia, an island of Tokelau; Matauta, not identified; Tutuila and Manuka, in Samoa. The rhymes suggest that two lines have dropped out. Conjecturally *angatoka* is translated "calm"; I have not been able to get a native explanation of this word.
17. "Coast of Remembrance" is the "coast of remembering love." This is probably a name of some locality, but retains its significance of the wistful yearning of his disappointed love.
18. Paepaeua is probably an unidentified place name.
19. In using the word *uui* (a little poisonous shellfish) Lakepamoafitu refers to himself as cast away. Levafanga is unidentified .
20. Foeata and Foelifuka are two islands in Vavau. The pigeon is the girl. The meaning is not that she has been cast away, rejected, but that the effort to win her has been thrown away because of Vavau.
21. Explanations of *fakamaiva* and *fakaalele* were not to be obtained. Maiva and Alele are both known as place names.
22. Present-day Tongans seem not to know the word *tapiha*, which is rare in Tongan, but compare Samoan, *tapisa*, to laugh. I have found no other occurrence of the expression *ha luo ha ana*, a hole in a cave. Probably it means secretly, furtively.

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539 Page 88. Mamaeaepoto to his wife

1. The wife of Mamaeaepoto sailed to Tonga, and there was unfaithful to him.
593 The allusion is to the pleasant relations of husband and wife, which have been broken.
[89] In the phrase *kuo te loto kehe* (I have become of a different heart) *te* is the first person of the singular personal pronoun, probably used here in the general sense in which English uses "you," and the meaning is not that he has changed his mind, but, "Agreement, but there has come estrangement."

2. This is addressed perhaps to the public (*mou*, second person, plural), who were giving credence to some rumors about Mamaeaepoto and his wife, or perhaps to his wife and her friends.

3. Fekitetele and Houmafakalele are both in Vavau. Fekitetele may mean much caressing of each other, and, it might refer not only to actual locality indicated, but to the happy love of Mamaeaepoto and his wife.

4. I have left the translation "turtle-fishing" stand, although this use of the word seems to be confined to the small island of Moungaone in Haapai. What aspect of turtle-fishing, or of turtle-fishing as practised in Moungaone, is referred to is not clear, if, indeed, the reference is to turtle-fishing at all. Obviously there is something not of the best for faithful wedded wives.

5. "Pigeon of the mound" is the tamed pigeon, trained for snaring. Similarly "*mounu fakalele*" decoy made to fly, that is, the trained decoy pigeon. There is a well-known proverb, *Mounu vaoa* (decoy pigeon taken to the woods, the home-keeping pigeon gone back to the wild life).

6. Mataloko and Vaolongolongo (Cluster of fern) are evidently places associated with the happy married life of the man and his wife.

7. To turn back without completing the voyage is *liu-loto*. Mamaeaepoto makes up his mind to forget his wife, but turns back from this resolve.

8. This reference is not clear. Possibly the meaning is "if she had been forcibly seized it would not have been so bad, but she has gone of her own free will."

9. Afutoto is a stream, or pool. Besides the island in Samoa, there are numerous occurrences of the name Manono in Tonga. It is not clear what locality and water are referred to; but evidently some place to gain wisdom and insight.

10. "Even a wise man will be the victim of the alluring, blandishing god, love."

11. For Vaimuku and Lolo, famous *manaia*, see p. 51.

12. A free translation of the lines is "There is as good fish in the sea as ever came from it." Away with remembrance, my love shall range free as the sea-birds; and yet the *liu-loto*, remembrance, comes back; thou art content, but I can not forget.

13. Matahina, a reef out at sea off Vavau; Fonongatoa, a locality in Vavau.

14. Feletoa and Ahokaimoa, each occurs as the names of more than one locality.
[103] This Feletoa is probably the place in Vavau mentioned by Mariner as the scene of a great battle. The Finau immortalized by Mariner lies buried just outside the village. Ahokaimoa is not far from Feletoa. Apparently the bard and his wife had laid plans which had been upset by the woman's levity; she had left Feletoa and gone to Ahokaimoa to wait there for another lover.

15. "Marriage can be successful and happy only when it is inspired by mutual love." A number of proverbs in this connection indicate how deeply the Tongan imagination is impressed by unhappy endings to what should be permanently happy relations. (See 17, nos. 436, 439, 440, 455.)

539 Pages 88-89. Poem of Tangata-Iloa to Mulikihaamea

584 1. The objects enumerated seem simply to be associated with days and nights of dance and joy. The "floating star" may be either in the heavens, or in the sea Those acquainted with tropical seas will know how splendidly the stars are reflected.

2. There is a poem in which woman is called "manu launoa," chattering bird. Here the poet says that the woman is not always chattering, but at times she acts with reckless venturesomeness. He seems to refer to the girl's willingness to leave Mulikihaamea and to come to him; or perhaps the reference may be general, an appreciation of the courageous side of woman's character.

[192] 3. The word *lave*, poem, recitation, song, is here used of poetry and song and all their associations of dance, joy, and love.

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4. Inumomea, unidentified, is probably a friend, man or woman, or even a place. 539
5. This line means "Mulikihaamea is still pre-eminently handsome, and I have obtained the girl's favors simply through his kindness." It is not clear why he should be said to be forgetful of Vaea, unless it be that Vaea and not Tangatailoa, might have expected to receive this mark of favor. 584
6. The King, Hau, is probably Mulikihaamea himself.
7. The poet says if they want to find him they must "set the course" by the village of Lakepa and then, having used this metaphor of navigation, he mentions various stars, passes to names of plants and flowers, and returning to a star, asks that all be brought to deck his sweetheart.
8. Maukuomaa, Tapukitea, Alotolu, Kaukupenga, Aoouvea are names of stars and constellations. [821]
9. The *hinganoleka, unuoiviole* and *tetefa* are plants. I have not been able to find meaning of *tapua-tamata*, but comparison with Fijian suggests the possibility of its being the name of an ivory ornament. [192]

Pages 89-94. Poem of Teukava

539
669

1. It is doubtful whether the detailed account of the fighting necessary to explain all the allusions is any longer recoverable. Many passages remain obscure.
2. Tangaloa, god of the sky; Maui, god of the underworld. This is a general call to Heaven and the Underworld, or Earth itself, to harken. [776]
3. Foui, named from a foui tree which stood there, was the abode of Vahai, who played so prominent a part in the fighting and led the forces which avenged the defeat of Hihifo. Nukumaanu and Vakatofusi are the names of two beaches near Foui. [103]
4. Kaumatule and Pauli; two famous warriors of the family of Vahai. [701]
5. This passage is obscure. It may mean that the kings chiefs, *haa tui* (tribe of kings, or royal tribe), are the Tui Tonga and his chiefs, and that they were annoyed that the blind king, *tui pouli*, should join in the war (on the side of Vahai). The *tui pouli* is explained by one informant as "those who came over the sea," that is, Haapai and Vavau. Another informant suggests that the reference is to the blind chief of Hoi, in eastern Tongatabu, who might naturally be supposed to be inclined to join with the warriors of Hahake against Hihifo. There is no confirmation of this supposition. Vahai, the son of Nuku, himself originally belonged to Hahake, and moved to Hihifo on marriage with the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu. I think it not improbable that the reference is to Takai, chief of Pea, who, Mariner tells us, was blind in one eye and whom Commander Wilkes refers to as blind, writing of course at a considerably later period. Takai might have been expected to throw in his lot whole-heartedly with the Hihifo chiefs, and he did become a partisan of Vahai; but Mariner's narrative, dealing with events rather later than those referred to in this poem, shows an inclination on Takai's part to coquette with the idea of alliance with Finau. If Takai be the *tui pouli* then the *haa tui* would be the Hihifo chiefs who are fighting to vindicate the position of the Tui Konakupolu.
6. "Hand that was shaken" is explained as "to have no further dealings with," and as "having conquered," and is referred to Vahai's conquest of Tongatabu.
7. Inasiulu, is an unidentified chief. It is explained in the poem that this is not his real Tongan name, but a name given him abroad, perhaps in Fiji. Possibly Tupou Malohi is meant. [551]
8. The phrase *moke toto* (to sleep in blood, to sleep with an unfinished task still to be carried through) originates with warriors who fight on till night lying down to rest without washing the blood from themselves as the battle must be resumed with the return of day. This seems to refer to the Battle of Toafa, in which the great Hihifo chiefs were wounded, hence "overthrown."
9. Several occurrences of the place name Tupou are noted by Gifford. I know nothing about Telasili. Naeata and Vakaisanini are said to be two warriors. [103]
10. In the "lower chiefly road" the reference seems to be clearly to the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, who were the people of the lower side of the road. Probably the meaning is that the Tui Tonga will appear and will interfere in the disturbances of the Tui Kanokupolu. [643]
11. The hope that the Tui Tonga and his chiefs would make peace proves to be vain. The Tui Tonga played a very inconspicuous part throughout the disturbances, revealing the real weakness into which he had fallen, and from the natural consequences of which his sacred prestige was not to save him much longer. [643]

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187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539 825 829 571 574 431 [136]

The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539 825 824

Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539 825 797 554 157

The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539 825 571

A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark called *anga*. 539 825 157

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539 825 571 [136]

The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who are bigger, or socially superior, to himself.

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* is forgotten. 539 226 584 554

The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and

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539 226 584 554 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 825 622 **195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku:** Get a *tukuku* and take it to Talanuku.

This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony fish.

539 825 571 **196. Hange ha ulua ha heli:** Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing *heli*.

The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers. When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is [461] pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 825 855 593 602 **198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu:** Like a turtle's family.

The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch. About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is reputed to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind to close relatives.

539 825 [537] **199. Hange ha ika kuo vae:** Like a fish that is divided.

This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divisions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken up into appropriate headings.

539 825 592 **200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku:** What, is there a fish that will swim (run) towards the tail?

The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

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539 505 **258. Kehe a Tonga nae folaua kae kitenoa ai a Eua:** It was Tonga to which the voyage was being made and the appearance of Eua was of no account.

When boats are making for Tongatabu the high island of Eua shows up before the mainland is seen, but although Eua appears yet it is Tongatabu to which the boat is sailing and where she finally anchors. When one is in pursuit of some object the turning up of other things is a mere incident. This seems to be confined in its application to the case of a woman who falsely supposes that visits are being paid by a man to her when in reality they are paid to another lady living in the same place. The close association into which the lover is brought with the second girl is a mere incident of his courtship of the first.

539 502 **259. Ki ama tae alomua:** "To leeward" without being the man in the bow.

When two or more men are paddling the native canoe it is the duty of the foremost to give sailing directions, typified by "*ki ama*," "towards the outrigger or leeward canoe." Anyone who was not the bow man, and yet presumed to give instructions to the crew, would fall under the rebuke of this expression.

539 505 183 **260. Kite faka-fonua mounga:** In sight like mountainous country.

A mountain appears to the ship far out at sea but it is a long time before it is reached. A thing that appears but it is in reality far off and takes long to reach.

261. Koe mata mama: The chief leak.

In a boat which has filled and sunk there may be little leaks which in themselves would not have caused the disaster, but there is one big leak which is the real cause of the trouble. Generally of that which has been the fundamental reason of catastrophe.

539 502 571 **262. Laukau he tauala oe jiana kehe:** To be proud of another chap's coming up to the wind.

A metaphor from navigation, *tauala* being to luff up into the wind. Employed of the useless pride of one man in the achievements of another with which he himself has had nothing to do.

539 501 **263. Limua ae vaka:** The boat is covered with seaweed; that is, the boat has been neglected and left in the sea without use or without being hauled up for cleaning.

Applied to that which is suffering from long neglect and disuse, in the same way as we say in English that a thing is rusty.

539 505 **264. Lujia ki taulanga:** Weather-beaten to harbor.

The vessel although storm-tossed and battered has at length made port safely.

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440. Pele tonoi: An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga: For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. 602 [576]

442. Talatala i fale: Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. Tala loto fale: Telling inside house.

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak, to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors. 539 521

444. Apijia tae lava: Ceremony that does not come off.

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home. 539 584

445. Apitanga a lalahi: Camp of grown up people.

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of. 539 571

446. Fangu malingi i fale lahi: Calabash poured out in big house. 539

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house. 415 302 575 571

447. Kaumea kaumea faingamea: Friends, friends quarreling. 539

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife. 572

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537 592 829 571 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living together, the excrement of the living together (or of those living together) is discovered.

Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 622 565 602 431 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised but the relatives badly off.

This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia*.

539 595 183 577 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 603 571 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 584 [724] **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi*, a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumauoa*, waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

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further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man worth while from Majilamea. 539 584

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" 539 578 261

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539 584

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539 593

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: "To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 539 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539 837

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and cut evilly. 539 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married. 302 585

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539 836 302 585 565 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 262 585 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 584 571 888 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

539 584 829 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 584 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome *'eiwaniai* Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] [287] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment. [826] [831]

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463. Viku ae malo o Uiha: The passion of Uiha is damped. 539 584

This is connected with two handsome gentlemen named Tatafu, one of whom lived in Uiha and the other in Haano, both in the Haapai group. Both went to Samoa to pay their court to a famous beauty. The Haano man was successful and the Uiha representative disappointed.

SPEECH, BOASTING, JESTING

464. Fie matai: Wanting to be craftsman.

Used in rebuke of one who "butts in" with his advice where it is not wanted; who tries to "boss the show." *Matai* is a Fijian word the Tongan equivalent of which is *tufunga*, craftsman. 539 571

465. Tala a fine jii kae ikai mavivi: A little woman saying but not able to do.

Bears its obvious interpretation of small people boasting of being able to do what is beyond their strength.

466. Tala pea ngali: Telling and befitting.

Used of one who says no more than he is able to do. His abilities befit his words.

467. Vahe tala: Dividing speech. [537]

One who divides well, has excellent headings for his talk, but with very little doing to back up his talk.

Another term for what in Australia is called "skite."

468. Hua fetaui: Joking well contested. [522]

Two who in the give and take of a battle of wit are well matched. So of those generally who are evenly mated. (See Nos. 469 and 597.)

469. Hua feiloaki: Joking of those accustomed to each other.

Like Nos. 468 and 597 indicates the contest of those who are evenly matched.

470. Hange ha hua mo ha lautohi: Like jesting with school-children. [522]

Wasting one's jests on those who cannot appreciate them, exercising one's wit on those who cannot be expected to be a match in the give and take of repartee. Generally of those who are not evenly matched. In its present form it is of course modern.

471. Tuli pe hua ke malie: A joke aims only at being pleasing. 539 522

There are those who in their jests give a certain amount of pain to others, but still we laugh for the object of the joke is not the pain that is given but the laugh. What is meant as jest should be taken in jest.

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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 892

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala keke: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 395.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

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his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe, which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined the natives in all their amusements. The chief, whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person, whom he wished I would do him the honour to marry, that he might be related to me. She was a fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugonagaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai. To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

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that though the husband might severely punish an offender, if discovered, yet they are frequently guilty of it in secret. The principal chiefs, therefore, have their wives guarded by elderly women, and O, that the influence of bad example may never make a Briton regret the want of such a precaution in his own land.

Before I leave this subject, I will venture an anachronism, by relating the process of a courtship at Tonga, as I witnessed it upon my return, till it closed in the marriage of the parties.

A chief had conceived an affection for the daughter of a neighbouring chief, in Tongataboo. His intention was made known to the parents by a present of provisions, which was brought while I was with them, by a messenger, who at the same time communicated his master's wishes to marry their daughter. The parents received the proposal with indifference, as though not desirous of an alliance with them. The agent urged his suit, but could not prevail upon them to accept of the present. This was an indication of not consenting to the match; and the man returned with his present. The next day, he came with an address still more urgent, and a present of provision more abundant. This was also rejected. On the third application, however, the parents yielded to the solicitations of this petty envoy, and accepted of his present; which was the sign of their consent. They then commu-

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175 nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented
584 to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tonga-
[586] taboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there,
[587] where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life, seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed by laws human and divine, is justly considered an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be destroyed by the least contamination.

175 Preparations were then made for the nuptials.
585 The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious procession described above, only in the latter part of the day. Almost the whole district was collected together to celebrate the marriage, and partook plenteously of the provisions collected for
[585] the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant women took the modest bride, who was seated by the side of her husband, by the hand, and gracefully conducted her in procession through the range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments and dances.

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to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

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836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute *(lele tau)*. [548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after [882] dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part [775] of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present [183] ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable [695] support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

> One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.

584 One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives 574 in an isolated village in Vava'u, he passed through the village 276 of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some *kava* that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly old men with three or four younger men talking idly among themselves. The girl Sepi was making the *kava*. Biukala immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance. He sat drinking *kava* all the afternoon and evening, studying 584 the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

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days, then went back to Ha'akio again. He conjured up some excuse to talk to the girl's mother and to Sepi herself. 584

For the following three months he visited Ha'akio, usually once each week. He discussed marriage with Sepi and when she seemed agreeable, he proceeded to discuss the matter further with her father and relatives. They looked with disfavour on his suit, alleging that he was too young. Probably they were unsure as yet whether this was the best marriage that Sepi could make. After this rebuff, Biukala tried to persuade Sepi to agree to a runaway marriage. She would not, insisting that Biukala must try again to obtain her relatives' assent, as was the proper Tongan custom. [583]

By this time Biukala decided that strong measures were necessary if anything was to come of his courtship. He persuaded his father and four of the older men of his family to go to Ha'akio and consult with the menfolk of Sepi's family. Biukala stayed in Pangai. The men took with them the largest sized root of *kava*, a forty-pound tin of biscuits, and some mats, as a present to Sepi's household. After an all-day *kava*-session together with much discussion, Sepi's family was persuaded to agree to the marriage. This took place the following week. It was the biggest marriage-feast ever held in Pangai. Sepi's father provided about fifty pigs. Biukala's father, feeling that the honour of his household was at stake, added a further seventy pigs to the celebration. 585 574

In elaborating on the virtues of Sepi, Biukala noted that her household was fairly wealthy in pigs and food, that Sepi had spent ten years in a mission-school in Neiafu. She had been well trained in both the arts of Tonga and of the white woman. She was skilful at making *kava*, mats, and bark cloth. She could also cook white man's food, could knit and wash clothes. She was industrious, clean, and had had plenty of experience in bringing up the numerous younger children in her household. Biukala never remarked about his wife's beauty. According to village ideals, indeed, she had little. 584 581 [832]

This account of Biukala emphasizes many facets of village-culture today. There is no suggestion of romantic love. There is a cool weighing of advantages before courtship begins. There is interest in securing a mate who has had opportunity to learn some of the white woman's skills. Knowing her worth in this connection, the girl's family is 584 178

582 from other villages in Vava'u, and seventeen per cent. married women from outside Vava'u. Of this last number, five of the women were from Ha'apai and Tongatapu, one was from Samoa. In fifty-seven per cent. of the marriages made by Pangai men (born and in residence in Pangai), the practice is therefore for the mates to come from villages other than Pangai. Nine Vava'u villages are represented in this connection: two of them are the residences of three mates each, one of two mates each, and six of one mate each. There is perhaps some apparent tendency therefore, for Pangai men to prefer and choose mates from some villages rather than others, but the preference is not pronounced, nor does there appear to be specific reason for this preference other than chance.

There is likewise a similar tendency (implicit in the table above) for Pangai women to marry in about the same proportions outside of Pangai village. In other words, more than half the men of Pangai look for marriage mates outside of their own village. There is also evident in the table 582 591 a slight tendency for Pangai women to marry men from other villages who break the rule of patrilocal residence and take up residence matrilocally, that is, in the village of their wives. This accounts for the fact that nine non-Pangai men have married Pangai women and have taken up Pangai residence thereafter; whereas, according to rule, the women should have left Pangai and gone to reside in the villages of their husbands. This number is not really so large as it seems. Of the six men in this Table 11, A shown as having birthplaces outside Vava'u, two are from Niuafo'ou and two are from Uvea. All four had taken up residence in Pangai before their marriage to Pangai women. They had attached themselves to already established Pangai households and were considered to all intents and purposes as Pangai residents. The marriages of Pangai men to non-Pangai 582 574 women have been initiated by contacts made with these women in the course of the men's visits to other villages in 584 Vava'u or through a much more occasional visit to relatives in other parts of the kingdom.

582 The figures suggest in sum, that the village is far from being in-grown in the matter of marriage choices. Because of the fact that many are related to most within the vil[illegible]

A. [See category 116 p. 89--Analyst]
A

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together (602) at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs (574) for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's [574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and 833 successfully married. According to village pattern, they have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and [841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may 526 often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom. They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the [554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal 178 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older 593 brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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the family always defers to Tui and consults him in preference to his older brother although the latter is theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother), Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife) to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called *kie*. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite. In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to the church where the religious ceremony was performed. Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter
[591] they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well
[833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 [581] It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the 584 561 178 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages without consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon 584 583 178 in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 593 Two young people who marry without consent of their parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

177 759 829 757 A practitioner, therefore, who gives the Tongan only what he can absorb and adapt to at the present phase of cultural change, may thoroughly shock the rigorously-trained white doctor (forgetful as the latter may be at times of the stubborn resistance to modern medicine among the less-enlightened members of his own culture). But at the same time, such a practitioner may in the long run be doing more for the health of the Tongan by giving the patient what he can take instead of what he ought to need, than all the most freely available refinements of surgical skill and drug therapy. Recognition of a sick Tongan rather than of a disease with a Tongan attached thereto is indubitably one of the more important lessons in the book called culture contact!

KAVA-DRINKING

574 276 *Kava*-drinking in Pangai is a purely social activity. For some few men the social significance is outweighed by an addiction to the drink which drives them to drink *kava* more for the drinking's sake than for the opportunities which the drinking provides for social intercourse. These men are exceptional, however. For the rest *kava*-drinking provides 574 the excuse for meetings where everything that can possibly 571 come within the intellectual horizon of the villager is argued and discussed again and again. For young people these meetings offer an opportunity to listen to their elders talk. In this way they learn much of the stock information and 574 traditions of the village. This of course applies only to 571 young men. Young women are not present at these parties, except only the young girl who has been chosen to make the 562 *kava*. But girls may participate as listeners in the smaller and more occasional parties initiated by older women for women only. Older women may also be present at the men's parties, particularly those women of the household in which the party is being held. An older woman or two are most likely to be present at the party if it is pretty clear that it [584] has been started by a young man wishing to court the girl of the household who is acting as *kava*-maker.

574 A record was kept for sixteen days of the frequency of *kava*-parties in the village. There is no reason to assume that the number of parties held during these days was in any

way abnormal. All days were days of hard work in the gardens following the working-lull of Christmas and New Year holidays. They were also days of sometimes heavy rain. This also increased the agricultural tempo because a wet soil makes both planting and cultivation easier. On one day only of these sixteen was there no *kava*-making. For the remaining fifteen days altogether forty-five *kava*-parties were held: eight in the morning, sixteen in the afternoon and twenty-one in the evening. The houses at which the parties were held is shown in the following Table 12.

TABLE 12.—FREQUENCY OF KAVA PARTIES AT VARIOUS HOUSEHOLDS.

Household Head	PARTIES Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Total
Koloamatangi	2	3	4	9
Tevita	2	—	1	3
Ofa	2	—	—	2
Puaka	1	2	2	5
Pili	1	3	—	4
Biukala	—	3	2	5
Halahingano	—	1	—	1
Talivakaola	—	1	—	1
Afu	—	2	1	3
Eneti	—	1	2	3
Heu	—	—	2	2
Hausia	—	—	5	5
Tapaka	—	—	2	2
Total	8	16	21	45

It will be noted from this table that certain houses are more popular than others as meeting places. The relative popularity of a house seems to depend upon its largeness, its coolness, its relative freedom from mosquitoes, the likelihood of finding interesting company there, the frequency with which the household-head himself begins the party, the presence among the household members of a young girl adept at *kava*-making, the general hospitality or tolerance of the household-head to late hours (some evening parties continue until an early hour of the next morning, even until daylight), and finally, the extent to which the youth of the village are using the *kava*-party as an opportunity to court the girl of a particular household. All the houses in which

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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A special case is provided by a young man courting. The young man Avai, for instance, goes to Fakataha's house. If the household is awake he walks inside. If all are asleep, he wakens the group before entering and asking for the girl Ana to make *kava* for him. Other young men drift into the house as soon as a light begins to shine. Avai pounds the *kava* he has brought while Ana makes the drink. Fakataha the mother, acts as chaperon. It is not polite for her to tell the young men to leave. The whole household, therefore, must remain awake and active until the men decide to leave. They may stay as late as they wish, and if they have nothing better to do, they stay until the early hours of the morning. Children crawl into corners and go to sleep. Older people in the household sleep sitting up in the *kava*-circle. In the end, only Ana the maker, her vigilant mother, and the young men may be awake.

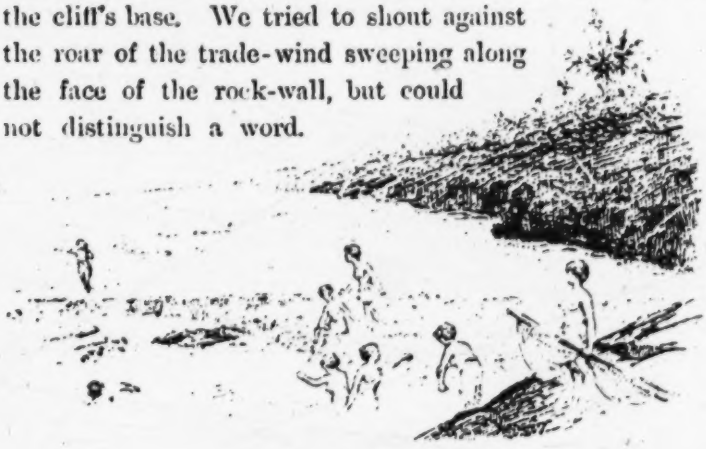
The large wooden *kava*-bowl is a prized household possession. Most of those in the village have come from Fiji. Some are so worn and old that all the legs have been broken. As long as the bowl itself has not split, it is kept in use, propped up if necessary by elaborate piles of stones and pieces of wood. The stones between which the root is pounded (formerly it was chewed) are also special stones, kept for this use only. They are not shaped or modelled in any way. Two hard flat stones are all that is necessary, the base-stone as large and as flat as possible, the pounding-stone of any convenient shape that it may be gripped easily. A household not possessing either bowl or pounders borrows them from a friendly household should it desire to make *kava*. They are returned promptly after use because none wants to have responsibility for an accidental breakage.

Kava-making in the village follows general Polynesian pattern.[27] The roots are crushed by a young man sitting beside the *kava*-maker. They are then placed in the bowl, water is added (generally from a nearby kerosene-tin), the crushed material saturated and squeezed and then removed from the bowl by the use of a strainer of coconut-fibre. One young man sits on either side of the maker. The boy to the

[27] Specific procedures used in the making of *kava* for special purposes such as at times of marriage and death, are noted in other appropriate sections of this report.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

caught me up at that strange white burying-ground, hung between sky and sea at the precipice's edge. He led me along the cliff to the open plain, whence, looking backward, one may see the hundred isles of Haafulu Hao spread out like a map. Leaving our horses, we crept together along the razor-edge that still connected a rocky pinnacle with the cliff from which it jutted. Clinging to the roots of a starving screw-pine, we knelt and felt the shaft twang as the great seas boomed into the caverns at the cliff's base. We tried to shout against the roar of the trade-wind sweeping along the face of the rock-wall, but could not distinguish a word.



The Liku in Tongatabu.

This place has been a favourite point of departure for the love-sick of Vavau who would escape their misery. Finau said that the body of a girl of Halaufuli, who leapt hence into eternity a few months before, never reached the water, but was sucked inwards by the cliff, and so dashed to pieces on the sharp rocks at its foot. Whether the attraction of the cliff would always do this or not, death would be certain in falling

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the "brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate.

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived, and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a performance of the proper nuptial rites.

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature.

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given. Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated, but would not be bound "till death do you part."

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

595 622 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 832 [778] [776] [585] [554] Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jinilau, the god of beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were themselves sometimes even called Jinilau. The custom obtained, and is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the [554] ladies. High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is [565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and 831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame 832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and 538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on [304] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole [584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*. [554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was [555] called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted [644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning Queen.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs.

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back."

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be noted later.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or *tokoua o'e fa'e* is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described by Gifford[16] and Koch [17] was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata* must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are completely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford under the name of *mo'a*,[18] a term which I could not elicit. Gifford thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.[19] But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children

Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1965: 71.
18. Gifford 1929 :29.
19. Gifford 28.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour.

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* (big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili* will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-6., Bengtsholo 1941: 91-98., Koch 1955: 75-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Otherwise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. Moreover, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2 shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church. Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga mali* with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths, mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the house of the bridegroom or one of his relations . There mats and bark cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth, the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another *fa'e tangata* may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom likewise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for a long time.

The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo* and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her brother.

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brother. S asked a man (P) of next door as *matapule*, who was his father's father's brother's son. On the Friday evening, P with S went to K's house for *faitohi*, taking *kava teletele* and a can of biscuits which was prepared by S's mother. K's father had expected their coming and told that it depends on K's wishes. He called his classificatory brother T to his house and explained the proposal. T also replied that she might do as she pleased. Then K was called and asked her own wishes. She was affirmative. Sitting at the corner of the house, S had been keeping silence all the time. Then *faikava* started with *kava teletele* brought by *matapule* P. *Kava* was prepared by K. Her parents, her sister, her *ulu i famili* T, and *matapule* P attended the *faikava*. The cup was offered to her *ulu i famili*, then to the *matapule*. During *kava* they talked and settled several things. They decided not to exchange *koloa* between the two families, but to give them to the young couple, and so on. The date for the wedding had been already chosen by S and K on next Wednesday. 584 584 276 574

On Tuesday evening S's father made *umu* and brought it with fifty loaves of bread to K's house. Afterwards, S proceeded with many of his relations and friends to this house. His parents, who did not accompany him, came to the banquet place just to peep into the inside of the house and soon went back. Of course, the brothers of the bride as well as the sisters of the groom were not allowed to join the meeting. *Kava* was made by a girl, one of the groom's relatives. The bride was seated on the lap of her mother's brother, Sona, who came from the next village. The groom sat on the lap of his mother's mother's brother's son, Ta. The first cup went to the bride and the next for the groom, but the order of the subsequent cups was not remembered. The arrangement of the seats was not fixed. A number of relations and friends sat round the outside of the house, drinking *kava*, singing and dancing. The next morning after a sleepless yet joyous night the groom and Ta took off their clothes, *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu*, and gave them to the bride. On the other hand, the bride and Sona gave their dresses, *fihu* and bark cloth to the groom. About noon, the party marched to Nuku'alofa for the registration, riding on two motor cars and motor lorries covered with *fihu*. The bride with her *fa'e tangata* and the groom with his father's elder brother, So. On their way back to the home village the newly married couple rode together in the same car. The fee for those cars and lorries was paid half and half by the fathers of the couple. 585 585 276 574 585

In the afternoon *katoanga mali* was held at So's place. The groom's father made *umu* with many pigs including one *puaka toho*, most of which were prepared by himself, but a few were offered by T and P (*matapule faitohi*). The bride's father also made *umu*, cooking one *puaka toho*, one *puaka hula* (a larger pig), and few *puaka haano* (a small pig), all of which were prepared by himself. On the *faikava* at *katoanga mali* T, who was a very old man and *ulu i famili* of the bridegroom's father, acted as *matapule* to direct the order of *kava* cup. (Fig. 5). The young couple sat on the laps of the same person as in the *fakalelea mali*. The first *kava* cup went to the bride, the second to a man, her relative. An elder sister of her father hit the *tua*, dorsal part, of *puaka toho* and got it for herself. 585 252 585 276 574

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 484 574 [602] Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of household membership. Instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence". They may speak of people as being not merely visiting--they would say this of a young relative from another island who has come to live in the household for a few years so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they may say that a particular person or family group is visiting for only a short time. Some people, and particularly young adults, come visiting _'eva pē_ ('just going about'--a term also applied to taking a short stroll with [584] [626] no overt destination). It is in the course of _'eva pē_ visiting that many Tongans meet the person they marry, for outside the home village a young woman has more freedom and a young man more license to pursue a courtship. In other cases, people may come visiting because they have some matter to attend to in Motulahi or elsewhere on Tongatapu. They might have come to be in attendance at a birth, for example, or to attend a funeral, or to accompany children to Tongatapu at the start of the school year, or to bring items for sale.

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holds in cases where more than one household occupies the same town allotment, or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one allotment. Even so, there are occasional cases where household membership is not clear. (See the case of Matiu, described later in the chapter.)

621 unless one lives near enough to other members of the
612 fāmili to facilitate frequent visiting back and forth.
Such visiting would certainly be possible if members of
a fāmili lived in neighboring villages, but the fact is
that it is not common for fāmili membership to straddle
612 village boundaries. In the first place, the means of
621 acquiring an allotment (or acquiring access to the use of
423 someone else's land) make it unlikely that male members of
425 a sibling descent group would live in neighboring villages
rather than in the same village. If they were living in
neighboring villages rather than the same village this
suggests that there might be strongly divisive elements
in their relationship, in which case they probably would
not belong to the same fāmili even if they lived in the
[593] same village. It is also not common for brothers and
621 sisters to live in neighboring villages. Since the
584 intentions of unmarried men are generally regarded with
571 some suspicion, patterns of courtship do not favor marriage
[589] between men and women of neighboring villages; one either
courts in one's home village, where people are known to
one another and where there are sanctions for proper
behavior, or one conducts one's courtship away from home,
in which case a neighboring village is too close to be
621 attractive. The effect of these elements is that there are
612 relatively few cases in which the wife is a member of a
593 sibling descent group based in one village and the husband
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79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and many sins destroyed'. In order to safeguard marriage Section 8 decreed that a deserted wife might claim her husband's plantations and property while a woman who deserted her husband should be brought back to him; if she refused to remain she could not lawfully remarry during her husband's lifetime.

It should be pointed out that marriages in Tonga were frequently arranged, by one's parents or by a chief, without reference to the wishes of the couple who were betrothed. A marriage was entered simply by the woman cohabiting with a man under his roof and protection. She was expected to remain with her husband until such time as he might choose to divorce her. Mariner estimated that about two-thirds of the married women in Tonga had been divorced and married again several times. The missionaries condemned this custom, not only because they regarded it as immoral and sinful, but also because it had led to several murders, when men of lower rank had married the former wives of superior chiefs.

The great emphasis which was placed on the holiness of the Sabbath and of church services by the missionaries is clearly and unequivocally reflected in Section 2, which exhorts people to abstain from work on the Sabbath day and to attend places of worship, and which makes it an offence for anyone to disturb the service or insult the minister of the congregation.

Another distinct feature of the Code is the importance given to industrious habits and the cultivation of the land. Many missionaries complained bitterly because the Tongans appeared to them incredibly indolent. In a letter to the General Secretary of the mission, the Reverend John Whewell asserted that the Tongans were naturally indolent. 'Only the old and married people', he wrote, 'profess to work. The young people spend their time up to manhood in supreme indolence or in what is worse—voyaging from group to group' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170). A few, on the other hand, argued that the people were not entirely an idle race. Their aversion to work was mainly due to the abundance of natural resources from which their simple wants were supplied. Hence, there was no strong incentive for them to work, but when it appeared necessary

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848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of unmarried girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)
836
837 214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.
548 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small islands. (215)

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

681 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 96). Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly one-third of the married women (to men of higher rank than commoners) (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).

/75 cont./

584 apparently occur more seldom today. Kinship marriages (cousins) are
582 very rare, since the brother-sister taboo extends to this degree of relationship and is still very much in effect. However, as in former times, people like to marry on the same island and in the same district--though avoiding all kinfolk.

832 The Tongan ideal of feminine beauty has changed. The obese type
177 with very fat legs is no longer favored, but rather the well-rounded, somewhat sturdy girl is preferred. This change of taste undoubtedly came about through acquaintance with the European ideal by way of films and photographs in magazines and newspapers. Yet the beautiful white girl type is still too thin for most Tongans.

581 A young man who likes a girl because of her beauty and/or her domestic efficiency and her character well enough to marry her may not at once become friends with her publicly. An unmarried Tongan man is
584 generally not permitted (217)
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217. That is to say, on the small islands; in the seaports this custom is being relaxed.

to go for a walk with a girl in the village. The girl's reputation
[558] would be ruined if, for example, she were seen sitting alone with
[177] a young man on the beach by moonlight. Such "English customs" are still disapproved by most Tongans. European manifestations
832 of tenderness--such as a kiss on the lips--have not found general
177 acceptance. (218)

218. The nose kiss ('uma) is, however, still very common; this touching of nose to nose (while holding one's breath) is done chiefly when relatives greet each other after a rather long separation.

574 The best opportunity to become acquainted with a girl, to be
584 together with her, is still the social event of a kava gathering.
276 (219)

/75 cont./

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219. Compare p. 144 ff.

Either the young man now visits kava gatherings where the /76/ girl he desires is already preparing the kava, or he will gather together several young men, go to the place where the girl lives with her parents, and ask her to prepare kava for the little group. Such kava gatherings may last from early evening until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. The visitors, talk and sing, perhaps also to guitar accompaniment, while the girl prepares the kava. The young man who has his eye on the girl also has a chance, in the general conversation, to exchange a few words with her, but sometimes, as a result of adverse circumstances or his own shyness, he can only gaze at her the whole evening. This somewhat passive courtship may go on for months until the young man, at a kava gathering, if he manages to sit next to the girl, will confess his great love for her, beg her to marry him and will ask when the wedding can take place. In case the girl does not disapprove, she usually answers that he should decide the time of the marriage. The young Tongan goes home and tells his parents that he wishes to marry this girl and that she is willing.

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Then one evening, he, his father and perhaps two relatives (cousins, brothers of the bridegroom or of the father) go together to the house of the girl's father with a long piece of kava (kava tafuna), the contents of a large earth oven (for example, a pig, yams, breadfruit, taro, sweet potatoes) or a 40-pound canister (or two) of zwieback. They place the kava and the rest of the gifts in the center of the house and the girl's father, she herself (possibly also her mother) and the newcomers form a kava circle. The bridegroom's father brings up his son's request, the girl's father expresses his thanks and asks the girl. After she has agreed to the suit, the

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/76 cont./

584 father likewise makes known his positive decision, the wedding day is
574 set, (220)
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220. For example, in a week; sometimes also a few days later, so that no other youth will "run away" with the girl.

kava is drunk, the details are discussed and the gathering breaks up.

584 In case the girl or her father (or both) reject the proposition,
[431] the young man's party returns home immediately and, in most cases, leaves behind the gifts that were brought. The latter are sometimes returned to the suitor. The matter is then dismissed, unless the girl who is willing to marry persuades her father to change his mind, or the two young people decide on a flight marriage (see p. 66).

584 This method of courtship, despite all formality, appears to be
574 the changed, simplified, "modern" way. The undoubtedly older form
604 of courtship, in which, since in old times, /77/ the brothers of the
[198] father had the last word and an important role, also still exists, especially, of course, in the villages of the small islands. In this case the paternal uncle of the young man eager for marriage goes
[431] to the paternal uncle of the girl he has chosen, and takes along kava and food (earth oven: pig and produce from the plantings; today also more often in the modern manner, a large canister of zwieback or a number of loaves of white bread). There he asks the girl's uncle for
[276] his consent to the marriage; however, usually he is not given an answer immediately, but after a kava drink they part, for the paternal uncle or the girl must first ask her. After three or four days or after a week the young man's uncle again visits the girl's uncle and is given the answer. This is, of course, "yes" if the girl and her uncle consent. The answer is negative if the girl is disinclined. In case the uncle rejects the proposal, but the girl is in favor of it, the answer may be positive (lost authority of the paternal uncle?),

/77 cont./

584 574 604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind. If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, loc cit. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases [574] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until [431] the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the [276] bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 292 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best vala and his best shirt, in addition to several ta'o-vala (of the finest quality: the kie Tonga), (222)

222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two sisi kakala (223)

223. Compare p. 82-84.

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three kie Tonga and sisi kakala, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives

585 602 A [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

T S 361 177 /294 cont./ which was customary even in ancient times--in contrast to Tonga-- has been retained; but /295/ in larger settlements that consist of individual sections these have, in some cases, made themselves T S 621 178 independent to a certain extent. As in the Tongan Archipelago, the old encompassing community system in the villages is still alive. S 565 178 596 584 With respect to social stratification, however, the power of the nobility--in complete contrast to changes on the Tonga Islands-- has been preserved to a remarkable extent, the position of the matai in recent times has suffered to some extent by the fact that the young generation is gaining influence in the family and, with the decline of the taupou system, (15)

15. See F.J.H. Grattan, loc. cit. p. 152.

S 565 178 177 799 T 565 the function of the tulafale (speaker) as marriage go-between belongs to the past. The fact that the exceptional position of the nobility here in Samoa has not been weakened as much as in Tonga may probably not be explained solely by the rather conservative nature of the Samoans, but by the fact that the missionaries here did not see any particular need to attack the old social system, for in this semi-democratic system the rule of the matai was apparently never as absolute and arbitrary as that of the Tongan nobility, and on the Samoa Islands there was no permanent division between nobility and commoners, for the serving non-noble still had a chance to be promoted to the nobility.

S 177 178 623 As a result of the self-confident and conservative nature of these natives as well as the restraint of the missionaries and the white government the traditional political organization in West Samoa is still largely intact, with the village governments (council of matai) preserved. S 657 231 242 648 As a result of the occupation of the Archipelago by whites the Samoa Islands have become two political entities